represented to have been "adult and able-bodied paupers," amounted to more than 477,000; and it is, on British authority, asserted that in 1848 more than 2,000,000 persons in England and Wales were kept from starvation by relief from public and private sources. The total public expenditure for the poor in England and Ireland in 1848, amounted to $42,750,000. Within the past seventeen years, the poor-law fund expended in England and Wales amounted to $426,600,000. This enormous expenditure, accompanied as it is by immense private contributions, falls far short of relieving the wants of the poor of Great Britain. While her population embraces a large number of persons of princely estates, and other classes composed of individuals of every variety of income, combining with it ease, comfort, and elegance, the statistics of the nation prove that the substratum of pauperism or want is of a magnitude alarming to the English moralist and thinker, as well as the statesman, and of an extent and nature harrowing to all. The expenses of the organized benevolent institutions of France amounted, in 1847, to 52,000,000 francs. The number of distressed persons relieved amounted to about 450,000 annually. We have no means of arriving approximately at the number of paupers in France, as the institutions above referred to are confined to the cities and large towns, while among the rural communes, which contain several millions of landed proprietors, there are large numbers of persons in the receipt of public support. It appears, from a report of Mr. Duchatel, Minister of Commerce, that 695,932 persons received public alms at their own houses.

The Netherlands, in 1827, with a population of 6,167,000, contained 11,400 charitable institutions, which contributed to the support of 1,214,055 persons, about one fifth of the entire population.

States.	Whole No. of paupers who received support within the year ending June 1st, 1850 — N'tve.	For'n.	Whole No. of paupers on 1st of June, 1850 — N'tve.	For'n.	Annual cost of support.
Maine	4,553	950	3,269	326	$151,664
N. Hampshire.	2,853	747	1,998	186	157,351
Vermont	2,043	1,641	1,565	314	120,462
Massachusetts	6,530	9,247	4,059	1,490	392,765
Rhode Island.	1,115	1,445	492	204	45,837
Connecticut	1,872	465	1,463	281	95,624
New-York	19,275	40,580	5,755	7,078	817,336
New-Jersey	1,816	576	1,339	239	93,110
Pennsylvania	5,898	5,653	2,654	1,157	232,138
Delaware	569	128	240	33	17,730
Maryland	2,591	1,903	1,681	320	71,668
Dis. of Col.	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia.	4,933	185	4,356	102	151,722
N. Carolina	1,913	18	1,567	13	60,085
S. Carolina	1,313	329	1,113	180	48,337
Georgia	978	58	825	29	27,820
Florida	64	12	58	4	937
Alabama	352	11	306	9	17,589
Mississippi	248	12	245	12	18,132
Louisiana	133	290	76	30	39,806
Texas	7	—	4	—	438
Arkansas	97	8	67	—	6,888
Tennessee	994	11	577	14	30,981
Kentucky	971	155	690	87	57,543
Ohio	1,904	609	1,254	419	95,250
Michigan	649	541	248	181	27,556
Indiana	860	322	446	137	57,560
Illinois	376	411	279	155	45,213
Missouri	1,248	1,729	251	254	53,243
Iowa	100	35	27	17	5,356
Wisconsin	169	497	72	166	14,743
California	—	—	—	—	—
Territories	—	—	—	—	—
Aggregate	66,434	68,538	36,916	13,437	2,954,806

ART. V.—SHALL THE VALLEYS OF THE AMAZON AND THE MISSISSIPPI RECIPROCATE TRADE?

THE subject of South American trade, and especially that of the great empire of the Amazon, has been pressed by us in the Review, through the able pen of Lieut. Maury and others, with zeal and earnestness for many months past, and now that Congress is in session, we cannot allow the matter to flag. The following contribution presents many additional views which are new and striking, and deserving of serious consideration:

We now come to consider the means and modes by which the resources of this great Amazonian water-shed are to be developed, and the measures and steps which the policy of commerce suggests for securing to the world the free navigation of the Amazon.

The triumphs of commerce are peaceful; its achievements are seen in the spreading of civilization, in the march of civil and religious freedom, and in the dispensation of thrift, prosperity, and wealth among nations, as well as to individuals.

From the statements which I have already made, all must admit that the

Digitized by Google

valley of the Amazon is not only a great country, but it is a glorious wilderness and waste which, under the improvement and progress of the age, would soon be made to "blossom as the rose." We have, therefore, but to let loose upon it the engines of commerce—the steamer, the emigrant, the printing-press, the axe and the plow—and it will teem with life.

There is a line of steamers from England to Rio. The French are getting up a line, and the stock has been taken in it, from Marseilles to Rio. Brazil has a line from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, via Rio, to the mouth of the Amazon. The mouth of the Amazon is half way between Norfolk and Rio. I petitioned Congress, at its last session, for the establishment of a line of mail-steamers from some one of our southern ports to connect with the Brazilian line at Para, and thus put our merchants in direct steamship communication with Rio, Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, and so draw us closer to the Amazon.

The committee to whom the subject was referred reported in favor of it, and brought in a bill for its accomplishment. It was, however, not acted upon.

But since that, events have occurred which make this line from the south still more important and necessary. The tyrant Rosas has been expelled from the continent; the navigation of the Rio de la Plata and some of its noblest tributaries have been opened and made free to the world. This government, with a most praiseworthy zeal, is fitting out a naval expedition to explore those streams, and to make known their navigability and the commercial resources of the countries drained by them, that our merchants may know how to send, what to sell, and what to buy there.

Brazil has contracted for two lines of steamers on the Amazon, from its mouth almost up to its sources. These Amazonian lines are to run—one monthly between Para and Barra, at the mouth of the Rio Negro, a distance of nine hundred miles; the other, connecting with this at Barra, is to ply between that city and Nauta, in Peru, a distance of near three thousand miles from the sea. "Poling up the Mississippi" would, in comparison to the means at present employed for navigating the waters of the Amazon and La Plata, be considered rapid traveling. Here, therefore, is the commencement of a new era in the business and the commerce of those two river-basins; and the first merchant-steamer, as she plows up those majestic streams with her rich cargo of foreign merchandise, will be the signal for a revolution in the trade and traffic which has been carried on there.

Three millions of dollars' worth of produce now comes down the Amazon to Para.

"The Peruvian portion of the Upper Amazon" where this line of steamers is to go, "is," said Castelnau, who was then on his way home, after traveling through the fairest parts of South America, "the most beautiful country in the world; its fertility is proverbial." There is found the famous silk tree, which produces a staple like cotton to the eye, but silk to the touch. There the labor of one man is worth but two and a half yards of our coarse cotton stuff the month—so abundant are the fruits of the earth, so scarce the fabrics of the shop and loom, and so far has that country been removed from the influences of commerce. It is now just about to be brought within them.

But what are the opportunities which Americans will have for getting a fair share of this new business to which the free navigation of the La Plata and the introduction of steam upon the Amazon will give rise? I reply, very small, unless this southern line of steamers to the Amazon be established; otherwise all the intelligence from Brazil and the La Plata, all the advices concerning the markets, will go direct to England and to France by their steamers; and then, after the merchants there shall have had some ten days or two weeks the start of their American competitors in taking advantage of that intelligence, it will arrive here in the United States by the Cunard or Collins line of steamers from Liverpool.

Now and then an American clipper, happening at the mouth of the river, or in the offing at Rio, at the night time, may chance to bring intelligence to the United States sooner than it can go to Europe and then come over by steamer. But that is uncertain.

The free navigation of the Rio de la Plata is an achievement, and commerce

Digitized by Google

is chiefly indebted to Brazil for it. Honor to Brazil, therefore. It is a gem in the crown of the emperor, which, if it be tarnished not, will make his reign illustrious.

Rosas held the mouth of the river La Plata; Brazil, Banda-Oriental, Paraguay, and Bolivia, (all independent sovereignties,) owned navigable water-courses which emptied into it; but Rosas would not allow any of these powers to follow those waters through his part of the river to the sea. Brazil made war with him, drove him out of the country, and the first-fruits of the victory the commercial world is about to receive, is the free navigation of those noble streams.

With a quarrel more just than that wicked one about opium, Brazil, in her triumph, followed the generous example of England in opening the ports of China, without any claim to exclusive privileges.

Brazil has not opened the ports of so populous a country as China, but she has opened the water-courses of one with which commerce will in a few years be more valuable than it is with China.

These arrangements about the La Plata navigation are not completed. They are thought to be in a fair way of adjustment; and, therefore, in giving honor to whom honor is due, I give it to the Emperor of Brazil, upon the supposition that no untoward thing will occur to thwart the measure.

But the commercial world has been sparing of its commendations of Brazil for her seeming liberality with regard to the free navigation of the La Plata. They say—and have, alas! but too much reason for saying—that there was no generosity, no liberality, no sign of any fairness whatever, in the course of Brazil with regard to the navigation of the La Plata. Bolivia, Paraguay, and Banda-Oriental, they say, had each as much right as Brazil to claim the free use of the La Plata for getting to sea with their merchandise; and if, upon the fall of Rosas, Brazil had then attempted to extort from Buenos Ayres any exclusive privilege in the use of those waters, she knew that not only would these republics—her next-door neighbors—all have turned against her, but that the three great commercial nations of the north would have stepped in to prevent any such exclusive and selfish appropriation of Nature's highway.

As a proof that Brazil was not actuated by any of those really enlarged and liberal views which it is the policy of commerce to carry out, I point to the Amazon. There Don Pedro is the Rosas. He holds the mouth of the Amazon; he shuts it up. Five sovereign and independent nations own its headwaters, and all of them have provinces and people upon the banks of its navigable tributaries; but not one of them is allowed to follow the course of these navigable streams through Brazilian waters to the sea.

Justice, the policy of commerce, the sentiment of the age, all the principles of national law and the rights of people, are in favor of the free use of that river by those five Spanish republics: and it cannot be said that Brazil acted from principle in the case of the La Plata until she makes, of her own accord, the navigation of the Amazon free.

Formerly there was a Rosas who threatened to stand at the mouth of our Mississippi, and we, who then owned the headwaters only, claimed, and were ready to assert with the sword, our right to follow them, and to use them for commerce and navigation, until they mingled with and were lost in the sea.

It has now not been quite four years ago since this subject of the free navigation of the La Plata and the Amazon was brought to the attention of this government.

The proposition was, that we should offer to Brazil our friendly mediation with Rosas, and use our kind offices to induce him to make free the navigation of the La Plata, and so end the war.

It was proposed, also, that we should treat with Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, New Grenada, and Venezuela, for ports of entry to foreign vessels and commerce up their navigable tributaries of the Amazon, and thus turn upon Brazil with the same arguments for the free navigation of the Amazon that Brazil stood ready to urge in favor of her right to navigate the La Plata.

Brazil got wind of this. She found out that such a thing as the free navigation of the Amazon began to form the subject of conversation in commercial and political circles here, and she immediately took the most active steps to render of no avail any attempt on our part having for its object the free navigation of the Amazon.

Digitized by Google

She redoubled her energies in the war against Rosas, and she dispatched in hot haste Ministers Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Peru, to Bolivia, to Ecuador, and New Grenada, and Venezuela, to treat with each of those five Spanish-American Republics for the *exclusive* right to navigate their Amazonian tributaries.

For the Portuguese, who had owned the Amazon for ages, who had not had the power to make an impression upon its forests, nor to launch a steamer upon its bosom, to go and talk to the Bolivians and others about sending steamers away up the main trunk of the Amazon, to paddle up and down the republican spring-branches of the Spanish Americans, was truly a diplomatic phenomenon! "You have an Athens, embellish that," should have been their reply to Brazil.

I quote from the Rio correspondent of the "Observator"—a Brazilian newspaper—of May last. This correspondent appears to be in the secrets of the government, and no doubt spoke the sentiments of that jealous cabinet:

"The navigation of the Amazon goes on swimmingly: the government of Peru, by the convention of the 23d of last October, made with our new minister, Duarte da Ponte Ribeiro, obliges itself to assist the first enterprise established upon the Amazon with a sum never less than $20,000.

"The government has named in quality of resident minister, and for an extraordinary mission near the governments of the republics of Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Grenada, our minister to Bolivia, Miguel Maria Lisboa. The object of this mission is a treaty with those republics for the navigation of the Amazon, because, as I think, it is feared that the United States will hasten to arrange one for the navigation of some of the tributaries of the Amazon, and thus judge themselves authorized to enter the Amazon from without, as the journals of New-York and New-Orleans already propose. We have been careless in this matter, and must now hurry about it.

"This nation of pirates, like those of their race, wish to displace all the people of America who are not Anglo-Saxons."

Thus the objects of Da Ponte's mission to Peru and Bolivia, and of Lisboa's to Venezuela, New Grenada, and Ecuador, are clearly set forth.

They were to frustrate any attempts at treaty the commercial nations might be disposed to make with these republics touching river navigation, and to seal up tighter than ever the great arteries of those countries, and thus perpetuate the stagnation and death that have for three hundred years reigned in the great Amazonian water-shed.

Brazil seemed already to have forgotten that what was right on the south side of the Tropic of Capricorn must be right also under the Equator; for the same arguments that apply to the free navigation of the La Plata apply also to the free navigation of the Amazon.

Peru fell into the trap, and made the required treaty; but the more sagacious statesmen of Bolivia got wind of the design, and not only refused to treat with Brazil upon the subject, but the enlightened President of that republic proposes to establish upon the Amazonian tributaries of Bolivia free ports to all the world.

"*Como los Brazileros,*" says a gentleman of Bolivia, writing as to this pretension of Brazil to steamboat navigation upon the rivers of Bolivia, "*pretenden el privilejio, y el Presidente Belzu, es bastante capas para conocer lo que le conviene a Bolivia, el se ha negado a dar dicha concesion, y espera qui los Estados Unidos sevan los primeros en descubrier aquellos rejiones.*"*

Moreover, as the good genius of Amazonia and free navigation would have it, neither the Brazilian nor the Peruvian Plenipotentiary appeared to have a sufficient knowledge of the subject of which the two were treating. They evidently knew very little of the navigability of those waters, the monopoly of which they aimed to secure.

This treaty was secretly negotiated in Lima, last October twelve months, and was ratified in Rio two or three months ago only. I have a manuscript copy of it before me. Its title is, "A treaty of fluvial commerce and navigation and of boundary between the republics of Peru and the Empire of Brazil."

* "As the Brazilians claim the privilege, and as President Belzu understands the interests of Bolivia, in the matter, he has refused to make any such concessions, and hopes the United States will be the first to explore those regions."

Digitized by Google

The question of boundary was settled in two words: "*Uti possidetis.*"

I quote with regard to the river steamboat navigation:

"ARTICLE FIRST.—The republic of Peru and his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, desiring to encourage, respectively, the navigation of the river Amazon and its confluents by steamboats, which, by ensuring the exportation of the immense products of those vast regions, may contribute to increase the number of the inhabitants and civilize the savage tribes, agree that the merchandise, produce, and craft passing from Peru to Brazil, or from Brazil to Peru, across the frontier of both states, shall be exempt from all duty, imposts, or sale duty (alcabala) whatsoever, to which the same products are not subject in the territory where produced; to which they shall be wholly assimilated.

"ARTICLE SECOND.—The high contracting parties being aware of the great expense attending the establishment of steam navigation, and that it will not yield a profit during the first years to the shareholders of the company destined to navigate the Amazon from its source to the banks (litoral) in Peru —which should belong exclusively to the respective states—agree to give to the first company which shall be formed a sum of money during five years in aid of its operations; which sum shall not be less than twenty thousand dollars annually for each of the high contracting parties, either of whom may increase the said amount, if it suits its particular interests, without the other party being thereby obliged to contribute in the same ratio.

"The conditions to which the shareholders are to be subject, in consideration of the advantages conceded to them, shall be declared in separate articles.

"The other conterminous states, which, adopting the same principles, may desire to take part in the enterprise upon the same conditions, shall likewise contribute a certain pecuniary quota to it."

"SEPARATE ARTICLES.

"For the better understanding of Article second of the convention signed this day, the high contracting parties have further agreed to the following articles:

"ARTICLE FIRST.—The shareholders of the steam navigation mentioned in the second article of the convention concluded on this date, shall be bound to the following conditions:

"1st. That steamboats shall make three voyages the first year, four in the second, and at least six voyages in the third, fourth and fifth.

"When, owing to circumstances arising from the great distance, obstruction of the river, making experiments connected with its navigation, want of combustibles, or other weighty reasons, it may be impossible to make that number of voyages, the shareholders shall receive only five thousand dollars for every voyage that the boats make during the two first years, and three thousand dollars for every one made during the third, fourth and fifth.

"2d. They shall convey, free of charge, the mail-bags of the government and of the post-office, and deliver them at the places on the banks as they pass along, until the end of the voyage.

"3d. They shall also convey every voyage, passage free, four civil, military, or ecclesiastical officers in the service of each government; the luggage of these persons in quantity equal to that of other passengers, and the packages that each government may in particular wish to send, provided they do not exceed two tons.

"4th. They shall be obliged to take on board or in tow the troops, ammunition and effects, that the two governments may wish to send, receiving therefor an equitable remuneration—the amount of which shall be fixed as soon as it shall be ascertained what is the necessary cost of performing said service.

"5th. The company shall arrange with both governments touching the respective points on the river Amazon or Maranon to which the steamboats shall navigate, and concerning the ports at which they are to touch; and it shall be subject to the fiscal and police regulations, notwithstanding their being liberated from imposts of every kind.

"ARTICLE SECOND.—Each government shall grant to the company the propriety of one-fourth part of a league square, at the places in which it may be necessary to establish a depot for combustibles, at any point not belonging to private persons; but the title to the same

Digitized by Google

shall be forfeited, unless the conditions above mentioned be complied with during the five years. It shall be lawful to cut wood for fuel on unoccupied lands, and to open and work coal mines."

Under this treaty, Brazil has entered into an agreement with Irineo Evangelista de Souza to introduce the river steamer upon the Amazon.

This contract was entered into on the 30th day of August last, and is one of the most odious monopolies that ever were inflicted upon free trade, or that now retards the progress of any country. A stringent monopoly of steamboat trade and travel on the Amazon for thirty years! The preamble to this contract states, that, in order to enable this Souza to form a company for the establishment of steam navigation upon the Amazon, the exclusive right for thirty years to the steamboat trade, travel, and navigation up and down that river, has been granted to him upon certain conditions, the principal of which are these:

1st. The capital of the company shall never be less than $600,000, (1,200,000, $000.)

2d. There shall be two lines; one from Para, at the mouth of the Amazon, touching at the intermediate places, to Barra, at the mouth of the Rio Negro; the second, from Barra, touching as aforesaid, to Nauta, at the mouth of the Ucayali, in Peru.

3d. To the first line an annual subsidy of $80,000 (160,000 $000) is to be paid for the first fifteen years; and to the second line is to be paid the $20,000 which, by the "treaty of fluvial navigation and commerce," of which I have spoken, Peru obligated herself to pay.

4th. At the commencement, the first line is to make one round trip a month; the second, three a year.

The company, on the other hand, obligates itself to do certain things, and among these is to establish on the Amazon and its tributaries sixty colonies, which shall consist of Indians or emigrants from such nations as the crown may designate.

The first thing in this treaty of "fluvial commerce and navigation" between Peru and Brazil that strikes one, is the want of sagacity on the part of its negotiators, and the marvelous degree of infatuation by which Peru fell into the flimsy net that was so unskilfully spread before her.

When Peru was invited to treat upon this subject, and was told that Brazil wanted to introduce the river steamer upon Peruvian waters, there was, right at the mouth of the Amazon, the Tocantins, a most magnificent stream. It crosses more parallels of latitude than our Mississippi or Missouri; it lies wholly within Brazilian territory; the banks of its upper tributaries are enlivened with towns and villages, and peopled with 125,000 subjects of Brazil; it takes its rise in the very heart of the empire; and from the emperor's palace at Rio to the headwaters of this noble river the distance is not five hundred miles; and yet, with all the enterprise of Brazil, she had not been able to put, or to muster energy enough to make the attempt to put, a single steamer upon this river. It was a little surprising, then, that the suspicions of Peru were not excited; for there was something strange to see this Brazilian envoy passing by the mouth of the noble Tocantins at home, which his own countrymen, with their dug-outs and rude crafts, can ascend only at the rate of seven miles a day. It was strange, I say, to see this envoy leaving the rivers in his own country in such a condition, and traveling thousands of miles up the Amazon to propose to Peru to send Brazilian steamers to navigate among the Andes, her tributaries of the Amazon.

Besides this, there are the Chingu and the Tapajos, with a dozen other noble streams lying wholly within Brazilian territory. Some of them come from "mountains of diamonds," and gold is in the beds of all of them. They are all strangers to the steamboat. Their sources are so completely lost in the unknown regions of the vast interior of Brazil, that we are far better acquainted with the geography of the moon than we are with that of these rivers; and yet, seeing that, and how that government had neglected them all, Peru could still be induced to listen to its shallow propositions.

Nay, there is the beautiful river of San Francisco, which empties directly into the sea, and the headwaters of which are just behind the first range of hills in the rear of the capital of the empire. Without having had the energy to introduce the steamboat even upon the waters of this river, the Chevalier Da Ponte is sent off upon this shallow mis-

Digitized by Google

sion about the headwaters of the Amazon, which by fatuity the diplomatists of Peru, it seems, could not fathom.

This attempt of Brazil to negotiate with those five Amazonian republics can be considered in no other light than an attempt to stop the progress of civilization; for, to close the Amazon to commerce and the steamboat, is to shut out from that benighted country, which it drains, the lights of civilization, the blessings of Christianity, and all the elements of human happiness!

But the treaty! The Brazilian minister, I am told, did not hesitate privately to advance the sentiment, when in Lima, that it was not the policy of Brazil to treat with nations more powerful than herself; that in the interpretation of treaties the stronger power always enforced its own construction, and the weaker as invariably went to the wall.

At any rate, I shall show how faithfully Brazil has acted up to this policy in the case of this treaty with Peru. By it each of the contracting parties pledged itself to give annually a sum not less than $20,000 for the introduction of the steamboat upon the waters of the Amazon; and what has been the result? Why, this: Brazil, as we have seen by the Souza contract, has taken this $20,000 of Peruvian money and given it to one of her own subjects to establish a line of steamers under her own flag from the mouth of the Rio Negro to Nauta—that is, it is to run about 1,500 miles through Brazilian territory, and when it gets a few miles into Peru to stop short. But still Peru must pay the piper. When this line reaches the mouth of the Rio Negro it is to feed there with its freights another line under the Brazilian flag to Para.

Thus Peru, to get about 250 miles of her thousands of miles of navigable waters navigated by steam, is made to pay Brazilian bottoms and subjects for navigating 1,500 miles of Brazilian waters!

I have no pleasure in exposing this miserable trickery of the court of Brazil. But she has arrayed herself against the improvements and the progress of the age, and she has attempted by intrigue so to shape the course of events, that she might lock up and seal with the seal of ignorance and superstition, and savage barbarity, the finest portions of the earth.

Science, commerce, and the wants of mankind, are beginning to call loudly for admittance there; and up the Amazon they must and will go, for when they call, the world is right apt to heed.

The object of Brazil, in negotiating this treaty with Peru, was, as we have seen by the Rio correspondent of the "Observator," already quoted, to exclude "this nation of pirates," as we are there styled, from these water-courses.

But the "high contracting parties," as it often happens to the wicked, fell themselves into the net which they had spread for other feet; for they seem not to have recollected the provisions of a treaty which Randolph Clay, our most skilful and accomplished representative in Lima, had just negotiated with Peru.

Only three months before the date of this fluvial treaty, that excellent diplomatist had negotiated in Lima a "treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, with Peru."

By the 10th article of that treaty it is set forth that—

"The Republic of Peru, desiring to increase the intercourse along its coasts, by means of steam navigation, hereby engages to accord to any citizen or citizens of the United States, who may establish a line of steam vessels, to navigate regularly between the different ports of entry within the Peruvian territories, the same privileges of taking in and landing freight, entering the by-ports, for the purpose of receiving and landing passengers and their baggage, specie and bullion, carrying the public mails, establishing depots for coal, erecting the necessary machine and workshops for repairing and refitting the steam vessels, and all other favors enjoyed by any other association or company whatsoever.

"It is furthermore understood between the high contracting parties, that the steam vessels of either shall not be subject in the ports of the other party to any duties of tonnage, harbor, or other similar duties whatsoever, than those that are or may be paid by any other association or company."

By the 3d article it is agreed that—

"The two high contracting parties hereby bind and engage themselves not to grant *any favor, privilege*, or immunity whatever, in matters of commerce and navigation, to *other nations* which

Digitized by Google

shall *not be also immediately extended to the citizens of the other contracting party.* who shall enjoy the same gratuitously, if the concession shall have been gratuitous, or, on giving a compensation, as nearly as possible of proportionate value and effect, to be adjusted by mutual agreement if the concession shall have been conditional."

And finally, by the 2d article, it is declared that—

"The United States of America and the Republic of Peru mutually agree that there shall be reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation between their respective territories and citizens; the citizens of either republic may frequent with their vessels all *the coasts, ports* and *places*, of the other, wherever (enque) *foreign* commerce is permitted, and reside in all parts of the territory of either, and occupy dwellings and warehouses; and everything belonging thereto shall be respected, and shall not be subjected to any arbitrary visit or search.

"The said citizens shall have full liberty to trade in all parts of the territories of either, according to the rules established by the respective regulations of commerce, in all kinds of goods, merchandise, manufactures and produce, not prohibited to all, and to open retail stores and shops, under the same municipal and police regulations as native citizens."

Thus Brazil, instead of treating us *out* of the Amazon, has treated us into it; for, by solemn stipulations with Peru, *American citizens had already the right to frequent with their vessels* all the coasts, ports and places, in Peru, wherever foreign commerce is or may be permitted.

And, furthermore, in this treaty Peru binds and engages herself not to grant any "favor, privilege or immunity, whatever, in matters of commerce and navigation, to other nations, which shall not be also *immediately extended* to the citizens of the" United States.

Thus, therefore, this treaty of "fluvial navigation and commerce" between Peru and Brazil has let us into the Amazon, *so far as Peru can let us in;* for we have the same right to trade upon her Amazonian tributaries that Brazil has.

Moreover, Lieut. Herndon informs me that the vessels of Brazil, that go poling about the Amazon and its Spanish-American tributaries, are in the habit of visiting all places and ports in these republics, without let or hindrance. They gather the products of the forests and the staples of the country *ad libitum;* in short, that the Brazilians enjoy there a perfect free trade, there not being a custom-house or an excise officer in the whole valley, or a single restraint upon perfect freedom of trade, until you get down into Brazil.

We have, therefore, in the Amazonian provinces, and upon the Amazonian waters of Peru, all the rights and privileges that Brazil has, IF WE CAN GET THERE.

Not only so: Peru, in 1850, published a decree which made her Amazonian provinces for awhile the common property of the world.

When that gold-exploring party of which I have already spoken returned with their seven hundred pounds' weight of gold, washed in gourds from the streams of this water-shed, the Ministers of Peru wrote letters and had them published, inviting all the world, in consequence, as they said, of these discoveries of the ore and washings of gold in her province of Carabaya, to come and take advantage of them, and make use of the natural productions of those regions; and the world was assured that the emigrants of all nations going there should have all civil and religious liberty.

But this invitation fell still-born, because the Andes, with their snow-capped summits, and the long, boisterous, and dangerous passage of Cape Horn, stood up on one hand as a barrier to keep out the immigrant by the way of the shores of the Pacific, and on the other hand Brazil closed up the Amazon against his passage up from the Atlantic ocean.

Hence arises the question of the day —that of the free navigation of the Amazon.

The question as to the free use for navigation of a river which runs through the dominions of more than one Power, is a familiar one to statesmen. It has been settled upon the everlasting principles of right long ago, and cannot now admit of dispute.

In Europe the navigation of the Rhine is conceded as a right in common to those to whom its waters belong. In North America it is a right—this free use of waters that are common property—which involves principles very dear to

Digitized by Google

the people. The Mississippi is an illustration of this fact; for the people do not forget that the mouth of that river was once in foreign hands that threatened to shut it up to us of the great West when we were owners of its head navigable waters only, and not of its mouth.

It is a right which, in the case of Texas, we practically conceded to her citizens with regard to the Red river without the asking, when she was an independent republic.

It is a right which the United States have always claimed with regard to the St. Lawrence, but which we have never thought worth a contention, because for all, or rather for a very great many, of the practical purposes of life our people have brought the commercial mouth of the St. Lawrence down by rail-road and canal from the straits of Belle Isle, and placed it at Sandy Hook.

Canadian merchants and English subjects pay tolls to our rail-roads and canals for taking their produce to New-York and a market. We therefore do not care to see the St. Lawrence opened.

In South America it is a right which Brazil has asserted on the La Plata, even to the "*ultima ratio*," when she was one of the Upper countries.

The United States, therefore, are committed to this principle; and Brazil is committed to it.

We have contended for it here on the north side of the Tropic of Cancer; Brazil has fought for it under Capricorn; and we must both stand up for it together under the Equator.

But, in the case with us on this side of the line, there were never more than two nations concerned in the navigation of a single water-course. Here in South America there are a dozen; and this makes the case so much the stronger in favor of a liberal policy on all sides with regard to this question.

In the case of the Rio de la Plata, the up-countries which Rosas cut off from the sea were the Banda-Oriental, Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia, not to mention Uruguay, Corrientes, Entre-Rios, Sante Fe, and some half a dozen other states, which were in such an anomalous condition that one knew not whether to class them as nations or anarchies.

In the case of the Amazon, there are five different republics in the up-country, with Brazil at the mouth of the river; not one of these five has the means or the power to force her way down, and Brazil will not let them come down peaceably. The Amazon, therefore, presents a question for which, as there is no river-basin equal to it, there is no precedent.

We have the right from Peru to navigate her tributaries, *if we can get to them.* Bolivia is talking of making hers as free to all as is the sea. Ecuador is inclined to do the same; and both New-Grenada and Venezuela will, no doubt, follow suit the moment they are invited so to do.

We have heard of the question before as to "free goods and free bottoms." But here the question is, whether "free ports make free rivers."

Suppose these five Spanish-American republics should all proclaim one or more of their river towns upon the Amason free ports to the commerce of the world; and suppose that Brazil, instead of owning two thousand miles or more of this river, after it passes the borders of these republics, owned only two miles, would any one pretend that Brazil, in such a case, would have the right to control the navigation of the whole river and its valley, because its mouth happened to pass through two miles of her territory just before entering the sea?

The doctrine that concedes to any one nation the arbitrary right to shut out other nations from the common highway of the world, is monstrous.

The arbitrary right even to shut one of the citizens of this nation from the public highways is not possessed by any of our governors. And if his neighbors *must* allow him free passage through their own lands to the common market-way, with how much more force does this humane principle of right apply to nations, and their right to follow, through neighboring territory, the great thoroughfares which nature has constructed to lead from the interior of the land out upon the broad ocean, the great highway of the world?

Brazil has no more right, in consequence of her two thousand miles of Amazon between these people and the sea, to shut them up and out from the highways of commerce than she would in the supposed case of two miles.

The policy of the United States is the "policy of commerce," and we do not wish ever to be on any terms with Brazil but those of peace and good-will. We buy now half of all her coffee, and

Digitized by Google

coffee is her great staple. She is a good customer of ours too, and we value highly our present friendly relations with her; but, as highly as we value them, we value still more the everlasting principles of right.

We want nothing exclusive up the Amazon; but we are nearer to the Amazon, or rather to the mouth of it than any other nation, not even excepting Brazil herself, if we count the distance in *time*, and measure from Rio de Janeiro, and from New-York or New-Orleans as the centres of the two countries. And, therefore, it may well be imagined that this miserable policy by which Brazil has kept shut up, and is continuing to keep shut up, from man's—from Christian, civilized, enlightened man's—use the fairest portion of God's earth, would be considered by the American people as a nuisance, not to say an outrage.

China wants to trade with us, but Japan stands by the way-side, and shuts herself up and out of the world. She is not in the fellowship of nations, and we send a fleet there to remind her that she cannot be in this world and live out of it at one and the same time. God has put the land she occupies on this earth, and she cannot take it away by her policy.

The five Spanish-American republics want to trade up and down the Amazon; but Brazil, worse than Japan on the way-side, stands right in *the doorway*, and says, "Nay, I will neither use the Amazon myself nor permit others to use it. That great up-country shall remain a social and a commercial blank."

Is it the policy of the great commercial nations to permit that? No; it is no more their policy than a state of war, and not of peace, is their policy.

In fine, the people of this country cannot look with indifference at the policy Brazil has pursued, and seems disposed to continue to pursue, with regard to the Amazon.

She and her rulers have had it for three hundred years, and the first practical step towards subduing it and developing its resources has yet to be taken.

Under these circumstances, it appears to me that Brazil, if she persist in her dog-in-the-manger policy with regard to the Amazon and the countries drained by it, runs some risk of getting up a discussion among the enlightened and commercial nations as to what her rights are to the Amazon, and whether they are not in danger of being forfeited by non-usage.

This, certainly, is the question of the day. The problem of the age is that of the free navigation of the Amazon, and the settlement of the Atlantic slopes of South America.

It is to stand out in after times, and among all the great things which this generation has already accomplished, as *the* achievement in its way of the nineteenth century. But it is not to be worked out by the hand of violence or the strong arm of power. It is for science, with its lights; diplomacy, with its skill; commerce, with its influences; and peace, with its blessings, to bring about such a great result as would be the free navigation of the Amazon—the settlement and cultivation of the great Atlantic slopes of South America.

With many thanks, Mr. Editor, for lending so many columns of your valuable magazine to me and this subject, I conclude,

Very truly yours, INCA.

ART. VI.—RAIL-ROAD ADMINISTRATION AT THE SOUTH.

THE CIVIL ENGINEER.

[THE following paper, from the pen of an experienced engineer, we recommend to the attention of our Boards of Internal Improvement, Rail-road Presidents, Directors, Stock-holders, etc. It embraces many sound and salutary truths, and should be carefully read and remembered.]

With the liberal minds of the South, next in importance to the cotton market, comes the consideration of rail-roads. While their commercial and social bearings have been discussed over and again, to the weariness of the reading public, little or no attention seems to have been drawn to subjects connected with their general construction and operation and millions are being invested

Digitized by Google